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ABSTRACT

The life of Mary Mapes Dodge, author of "Hans Brinker or the Silver Skates," a pioneer in the field of literature for children and adolescents during the nineteenth century, is recounted in this paper--from her childhood as the daughter of a well-connected but impecunious lecturer, scientist, and inventor through her later years as a widely admired literary figure. The paper focuses on four aspects of Dodge's lengthy career as an author and editor: (1) her development as a writer; (2) the evolution of her philosophy of writing for children, much of which she spelled out in a voluminous correspondence with Horace Scudder, the editor of "Riverside Magazine for Young People" to which she was a regular contributor; (3) her work as the founding and long term editor of "St. Nicholas," a magazine for children and young adults that embodied her philosophy; and (4) her efforts to develop a broad range of social and professional contacts with writers. The paper notes in particular her ability to work under pressure; her business skills; the diplomacy she employed to get reluctant authors to make changes in their manuscripts; her editorial relationships with famous writers such as Louisa May Alcott, Rudyard Kipling, and Samuel Clemens; and her willingness to lend money to authors short on cash, offer advice to fledgling writers, and find outlets for writers in appropriate publications. (RBW)

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Mary Mapes Dodge and St. Nicholas: The Development of a Philosophy and Practice of Publishing for Young People

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This paper draws on a master's thesis I prepared, "Mary Mapes Dodge and St. Nicholas, (Unpublished M.A. thesis, School of Journalism, Pennsylvania State University, 1983)

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Anyone pursuing the history of literature for children and adolescents in the United States must acknowledge Mary Mapes Dodge as a crucial Nineteenth century pioneer. As the author of Hans Brinker or The Silver Skates and the founding editor of St. Nicholas, Dodge by example and gatekeeping helped shape that special literature that simultaneously seeks to inculcate the values of the adult community while entertaining the child. How Dodge became a central figure in a group that included Louisa May Alcott, John T. Trowbridge, and Horace Scudder is worth knowing. Her development as a writer and editor sheds light on the limitations and possibilities of such writing in her own generation.

The life of Mary Mapes Dodge reads like a the plot of a domestic novel written by a contemporary female writer. According to Nina Baym, women writers from 1820 to 1870 tended to write stories following one of two patterns.

> In one, the heroine begins as a poor and friendless child. Most frequently an orphan, she sometimes only thinks herself to be one. or has by necessity been separated from her parents for an indefinite time. In the second, the heroine is a pampered heiress who becomes poor and friendless in midadolescence, through the death or financial failure of her legal protectors. At this point the two plots merge, for both show how the heroine develops the capacity to survive and surmount her troubles. At the end of the novel she is no longer an underdog.[1]

Dodge's life follows the latter pattern. Born in 1830 into a New York City family with long and distinguished ties to the region, she grew up in genteel poverty. Her father, James Jay Mapes, was a well connected but impecunious lecturer, scientist, and inventor. Mapes' friends included editor Horace Greeley and

inventor John Ericsson; his only source of regular income was as an expert witness in patent cases. Mary Elizabeth or "Lizzie" as well as her three sisters and brother were educated at home and all accounts of her childhood suggest it was happy.

In 1848 James Mapes moved his family to Waverly, a suburb of Newark, New Jersey, to cut his living expenses and to develop an experimental farm where he could implement his ideas about the improvement of worn-out farm land through the application of nitrate fertilizers. The move was made possible by Mapes' friendship with a New York lawyer named William Dodge who supplied the financing. Three years later Mary Elizabeth married Dodge, fifteen years her senior, and settled into the life of a New York matron, bearing two sons in 1852 and 1855 respectively. Through her husband's family as well as her own, she was well connected with the best of pre-Civil War New York society. Then in 1858 a series of financial and personal crises apparently caused William Dodge to commit suicide by drowning. So traumatic was the experience that his widow left no written reactions to it.[2] However, she must have alluded to her problems occasionally because a decade later Robert Dale Owen, an admiring advisor, wrote her:

> I think that if your life had flowed on, like a charmed stream, interrupted by no storm, arrested by no rocky obstruction, it would have produced less that is useful to your fellow creatures than now it does. You have suffered more, but you have also effected more. Latent powers have been called out. As author you have done, and will yet do, more for mankind than, but for adversity, you might ever have attempted. And what you have thus done, or may yet live to do, will endure for ever in its after influences.3

In her most famous work Hans Brinker or the Silver Skates, much of the plot centers on the difficulties faced by a Dutch family when the father figuratively dies when he lapses into a coma after being struck on the head.[4]

Soon after William's death, his widow abandoned New York City and returned to the Waverly farm which she then owned. There, living frugally with her family, she tried to put her life back together and rear her two sons. Her father played an important role in her development as a writer and editor. He set his daughter to reading such writers as historian John Lothrop Motley upon whose Rise of the Dutch Republic she drew for Hans Brinker. In addition, Mapes sought her assistance in publishing his magazine Working Farmer through which he was publicizing his plans and products for scientific farming. In 1861 he decided to expand the coverage to include more domestic material and bought the United States Journal for this purpose. His daughter set up her own study in an out building on the farm to allow her to concentrate on writing. The first and subsequent combined issues of the two magazines contained numerous articles, stories, and poems by Dodge under various pseudonyms. One story, "Mary Bennet, "draws upon Dodge's recent widowhood as the heroine of the story loses her husband when he disappears an a hunting expedition. Later in a happy denouement like that in Hans Brinker, he returns half-dead, having been captured by Indians.[5]

By 1863 Dodge was submitting stories to Harper's Monthly Magazine and being accepted. In addition, she was gaining a

reputation as an inventor and critic of parlor games. In 1865 she obtained a copyright for The Protean Cards or Box of One-Hundred Games.[6]

Mapes also developed other avenues for her work. In 1864 he arranged with James O'Kane for publication of a collection called the Irvington Stories which won a wide audience.[7] That same year he wrote about arrangements for a book for young boys. "Enlist a youngster and carry him through the war, make him smart of course--to have five engravings of the quality of those in 'The Soldier Boy' about the same number of pages."[8] Although she did not follow this plot outline, she published Hans Brinker the next year. Besides Motley, Dodge drew on a friendship she had developed with a Newark family of Dutch extraction. Upon publication Hans Brinker was an immediate success with sales in 1865 of over 300,000. In 1883 Charles Scribner, who had later become her publisher, wrote that it "has been the most successful juvenile that we have published."[9]

She did not limit herself to juvenile material. She gained some notoriety when The Cornhill, a British magazine, published her "The Shoddy Aristocracy of America," an article widely reprinted in the United States. In it she criticized those who had gained sudden wealth during the Civil War. However, she was optimistic because "Shoddy" had "its mission."

> It will develop new neccessities and new industries, bring a fresh, hardy element to society by educating new classes, open a channel through which the poor may receive a share of the refining influences which surround the rich; and, what is of very great importance, it will put money into the national purse.10

Although she gained confidence in her own abilities as her work gained wide acceptance, her father continued to be of great assistance to her because of his many contacts. Shortly before his death in early 1866, Mapes wrote R. Shelton MacKenzie, editor of the American Publisher's Circular and Literary Gazette, asking that he review Hans Brinker.[11] Long after her father's death, Dodge would be drawing upon the goodwill her father had gathered in his life. She had to, because at 36 she was responsible not only for her two sons but for her mother and her single sisters.

In the decade after being widowed, Dodge had also developed friendships in both Newark and in New York that would prove useful. She knew older members of the literary community like John Greenleaf Whittier, Owen, Alice and Phoebe Cary, Greeley, Samuel Bowles, and Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Furthermore, many who would become powerful in American publishing were part of her circle--Horace Scudder, Richard Watson Gilder, and Edmund Clarence Stedman. To these people she had proven herself capable of quickly writing poetry and prose that appealed to a large audience.[12]

Her career as a successful writer, however, was henceforth to take second place to editing. The reason, most simply, was financial. As her two sons approached college age and as she realized that she would have to be the main financial support for her family, she felt a need for a steady income rather than the problematic income from writing articles and books. Like other female writers of the time, Dodge valued income over art, but

unlike the heroines of many novels, she refused to remarry, although in several instances it seems evident that the possibility existed.[13] Rather, in her late thirties, she began a career that would allow her to exploit both her writing ability and her many contacts to establish the one career that would reward her equitably. Furthermore, she turned her full attention to literature for children at a time when many other writers and publishers were doing so. In the light of subsequent developments her perception of the market was most astute.[14]

Dodge's first professional editorial position, besides her work on The Working Farmer and United States Journal, was as associate editor in charge of the "Home" and "Miscellaneous" departments of Hearth and Home, a weekly miscellany, in 1868. Although Harriet Beecher Stowe and Donald G. Mitchell were listed as the nominal editors, Dodge, at a salary of $1500 per year, was in charge, her superiors remaining at a distance. Besides Stowe and Mitchell, contributors included Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., Trowbridge, and William Cullen Bryant. However, Dodge soon found the pace killing as she was commuting from New Jersey, concerned with on-going family problems, and writing for other periodicals. In a letter to her oldest son James at Cornell, she acknowledged writing seven articles in the most recent issue.[15] Also, her salary proved inadequate and after a year she asked for an increase of $500 to $1000. Arlo Bates, her publisher, granted the request, a fact which suggests he was satisfied with her work.[16] As time passed, Hearth and Home underwent changes in

ownership, but Dodge remained, with her salary eventually increased to $3,000 annually. Consequently, James Dodge was able to attend first Cornell and then Rutgers, where he graduated. The means were there, too, for her son Harry to complete his education, although he never finished college.

By the time Dodge left Hearth and Home in March, 1873, to begin her editorship of St. Nicholas at a salary of $5,000, she had proved a number of points about herself. First, she could negotiate with writers like Stowe in a firm but fair way. Second, she could handle the pressures of weekly deadlines. Third, she could write in vast quantities lucid prose on a variety of topics for different audiences. Fourth, she could attract able assistants, Frank Stockton being the most notable. So strong was her performance that Hearth and Home could not replace her and died two years after her departure.

The decision to edit St. Nicholas, as she decided to name the magazine, was not impetuous or purely financial. For over a decade she had been actively writing for children as she reared her own. Hans Brinker, her most notable success, was a juvenile novel and she had been an active contributor to the Riverside Magazine for Young People, edited by Scudder. During her tenure at Hearth and Home, she had developed characters like "Uncle Tim" and "Aunt Sue" who wrote regular columns for young readers.

Her correspondence with Scudder in particular shows that by 1866 she had developed firm ideas of what literature for children should be. Writing in the summer of 1866 in response to Scudder's

request for manuscripts, Dodge responded tentatively. However, she thought such a publication as Scudder outlined was long overdue.

> It is certainly a heavy responsibility as well as a high privilege to have the ear of young America once a month--but from the tone of your letter I feel sure it will hear only pure and genial and high-toned things from the new magazine. Something tells me that you are not starting it on an intensely literary basis, but that already it is a labor of love.
>
> The poor children! We have the privilege of hiring our preachers and selecting our own wise counsel--but they, poor things, are beridden with our preachings and counselling, and teaching, and often most dismal of all, amusing, from the hour of their toddlehood. It needs a merciful, wise, and a loving heart to deal with them--they are far more like ourselves than we think--but we often pour the lees of our experience upon them in a stream of twaddle expecting them to be edified and delighted, while we smack our lips over the wine.[17]

In September she wrote again, repeating her enthusiasm for the magazine and promising stories. By November, she was working on a sketch but inquiring about the intended age of the audience. "I would not trespass upon your time by making the inquiry were I not sure that an article for the young loses or gains in value just in proportion as it is adapted to the age of the reader," she wrote.[18] In December, she reacted enthusiastically to the first issue of the Riverside and used a criterion based on scientific method that she applied throughout her career, the reaction of a child. "It has stood the ordeal of being read...by a great burly boy who is knee-deep in Mayne Reid--and he [her emphasis] pronounced it to be 'splendid'."[19]

Although Dodge did not mention reading Scudder's column "Books for Young People" in the first issue, she probably did;

a review of it reveals much about the publishing scene. Scudder commented that the number of books for young people had increased appreciably in recent years, to the extent that it was almost impossible to keep track of publications. Here the Riverside would provide a needed service by doing the selecting:

> Magazines for young people...have this in their favor, that they are substitutes for many books; the freshest and most enjoyable literature can be given there in compact form, with all the seduction of an expected weekly or monthly arrival, and so that hunger for mere reading, which they share with their elders, can be appeased at no great cost of time and attention.[20]

She would follow this advice when creating St. Nicholas.

In January, 1867, she discussed books for children with Scudder, finding those published in France and Germany "far beyond anything of the kind I have seen from our American press."[21] She discussed her son Harry's preferences and once again distinguished between adults' and children's reactions to literature.

> I think you will find it [a list of books] useful in some sense though of course you will get...the very reverse tangent from the prescribed circumference of what is best [her emphasis] for small folk to read--best in our [her emphasis] sense, I mean--but do we not undervalue "the wisdom of babes" when we set up too steadfastly our own standards in such matters? Perhaps the children are right in some things, and we are wrong? A suspicion of this would forbid my thrusting a story of good Bobby at a little fellow who was clamorous for Grimm."[22]

In May, she again stressed the need to entertain children in a letter accompanying some light verse whose "only merit" was

"that it makes children laugh, and sends them off repeating the couplets that chance particularly to strike their fancy."[23] In the same letter she disagreed somewhat with Scudder's comments on the writing style appropriate for children:

> It seemed to me that in hearing of certain things, children like a shade of grandiloquence--a little introducing of the heroic does them good. It makes them feel (without stooping to the "babyish style") you consider it worth while to utter your best thoughts to them,-not that you are preaching [her emphasis], but that you confidently look to them for recognition and sympathy.[24]

Dodge's reactions to Scudder's monthly efforts with Riverside continued to be enthusiastic and thoughtful. In a June letter she praised the July issue.[25] On August 12, she wrote to discuss two of her contributions plus to praise the August issue, especially an article by an old family friend. Once again she indicated that she tested her writing on young people:

> I wrote it [an article] some months ago and have not attempted to publish it until now because I wished first to try it practically upon young readers. The result is that I find children like it better than grown persons do. They enter more fully into its spirit, enjoy its blunders, are constantly interrupting with "Oh, I know what that means!" and all such remarks.[26]

On August 23, she wrote eight pages discussing all sorts of topics, but one matter bothered her, the need to mention her own Proteus game in an article on Christmas gift giving. Well aware of the power of a published recommendation to promote sales, Dodge eventually compromised by quoting another critic.[27] In November, she discussed her writing style. "Perhaps you may think that my children talk and act rather roughly--they certainly

would shock some persons--but then I draw from life, and do we not owe some allegiance to naturalness and simple fact?"[28]

The steady correspondence continued. In January, 1868, she wrote to make some editorial changes in a piece: "This is merely a trifle--but I like to be accurate as far as lies in my powers. I think, too, it has a bad moral effect, on young readers especially, to meet with statements in print that indicate a careless, unconscientious habit in describing."[29] In the same letter she praised the editorial quality of the Riverside:

> It is emphatically good [her emphasis]. The Riverside has one quality that I have recognized with pleasure, and which I have frequently heard alluded to by worthy judges--it is invariably well made up [her emphasis]--that is, the editorial mosaic is artistic in itself apart from the quality of the material--the illustrations are fast giving it a name in that particular department & this year I believe you told me you hoped to have them invariably [her emphasis] of good quality.[30]

Soon afterwards she praised the February issue of Riverside: "it isn't a bad number at all," but she found fault with the quality of the illustrations.[31]

As 1868 progressed, the frequency and enthusiasm of Dodge's correspondence with Scudder diminished as she became increasingly concerned with her work at Hearth and Home (Scudder apparently gave her considerable advice on how to undertake the job.) and as she became aware that he, a younger man, was not emotionally interested in her. Eventually he married and, although they corresponded occasionally for many years on professional matters, it appears that as late as 1891 she had not met Scudder's wife.[32] This pattern of an attraction to younger men like Scudder appeared

frequently throughout her life. Emotionally, however, she seemed to have been tied primarily to her two sons, the death of the younger in 1878 causing her severe emotional stress.[33]

Dodge's move from Hearth and Home to St. Nicholas in 1873 was in part announced by an article that appeared in July, 1873, in Scribner's Monthly, the parent of St. Nicholas. Scribner's was operated by Roswell Smith and Josiah Gilbert Holland in partnership with Charles Scribner. Smith and Holland would later buy out Scribner to form The Century and include St. Nicholas in the transaction. They had purchased Riverside in 1870, and were contemplating their own juvenile publication when Smith asked Dodge, apparently in 1872, to set down her ideas on a children's magazine. The result was an article that appeared after she had agreed to edit the new St. Nicholas. "Children's Magazines" pulls together in one article many of the ideas she had discussed with Scudder. The article begins with a manifesto in which she shouted "BEWARE OF CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES" and "CHILD'S MAGAZINE WANTED." [her emphasis] After criticizing available magazines both from Europe and America, Dodge stressed that too many were edited to please parents, not children. She argued that "the child's magazine needs to be stronger, truer, bolder, more uncompromising than the other [adult's]." She argued for escapism: "Most children of the present civilization attend school. Their little heads are strained and taxed with the day's lessons. They do not want to be bothered nor amused nor taught nor petted. They just want to have their own magazine." She called for illustrations of high quality: "...the pictures must

have the greatest variety consistent with simplicity, beauty and unity. They should be heartily conceived and well executed; and they must be suggestive, attractive and epigrammatic." She called for a strong editorial hand: "One of the sins of this age is editorial dribbling over inane pictures. The time to shake up a dull picture is when it is in the hands of the artist and the engraver, and not when it lies, a fact accomplished, before the keen eyes of the little folk." She stressed pleasing the audience of children: "Let the little magazine readers find what they look for and be able to pick up what they find." Finally, she called for subtle moral inculcation:

> ...it must be by hints dropped incidentally here and there; by a few brisk, hearty statements of the difference between right and wrong; a sharp, clean thrust at falsehood, a sunny recognition of truth, a gracious application of politeness, an unwilling glimpse of the odious doings of the uncharitable and base. In a word, pleasant, breezy things may linger and turn themselves this way and that. Harsh, cruel facts--if they must come, and sometimes it is important that they should--must march forward boldy, say what they have to say, and go.[34]

In her notice to prospective authors for St. Nicholas, Dodge again emphasized her criteria and suggested that writers aim at an audience between the ages of five and sixteen:

> While aiming indirectly to instruct its young readers, and to inculcate a true Christian spirit, it will be entirely unsectarian in character, and will avoid anything like formal teaching or preaching. The spirit of mirthfulness shall be invoked from the first, and good things fresh, true and childlike, heartedly commended, while every way to juvenile priggishness shall be bolted and barred as far as the management can effect.[35]

From these materials it is evident that when Dodge assumed the editorship of St. Nicholas in 1873, she had developed the

skills and strategies any successful editor needs: she had proven her ability to write lucidly on a variety of subjects in several genres; she had exhibited the ability to function under deadline pressures; she had developed a wide aquaintance in the community of authors; most importantly, she knew what she wanted her magazine to be. These skills she would perfect in the next three decades as she "conducted" a magazine that gained wide acceptance as the paragon of magazines for children.

The general consensus of her contemporaries and subsequent generations was that Dodge was an excellent editor of St. Nicholas. From the very first issue she received accolades. Stedman wrote to her of the first issue: "...it is the best youth's magazine [as?] published, and is sure to be a great success."[36] Rebecca Harding Davis, an author and the mother of a later contributor Richard Harding Davis, wrote, "I must say one word of hearty greeting to St. Nicholas. Where you find all the good things to go into his pack in these days when writing for children is so over-done, I can not guess."[37] In response to the gift of a bound copy of Volume I, Mary L. Booth, editor of Harper's Bazaar, wrote:

> You have won a signal triumph in making what is confessedly the brightest and best of American juvenile magazines; and its interest isn't confined to the juveniles either! For my part I always feel myself defrauded when some evil chance prevents me from reading it each month, as is my custom. I am very proud that a woman has won this success in the journalistic world, and proud above all that thou art the woman![38]

Dodge, however, had a sharp eye for flaws and wrote Aurthur Gilman

of the first issue: "Such mistakes shan't occur again--but it is too provoking that they should have happened at all."[39] That she was successful is apparent in a letter from Roswell Smith, her publisher, in 1876.

> I have said...that you were our choice as Editor of St. Nicholas, from all the world on either side of the ocean, so far as we knew it or could learn it. That you were left free to select your own assistants & to make so far as possible an ideal Periodical for children--and that your fitness for the position, your courage, industry, perseverance and resources had more than met all our expectations and today it occurred to me that it might be pleasant to have me say just that to you.[40]

As the decades passed, she became something of a legend in publishing. A writer for the New York Observer gushed in 1893:

> Mrs. Dodge is essentially a poet and an artist, uniting with this fine temperament, a happy buoyant nature and rare executive ability. She devotes a mind capable of standing apart and asserting its own rich individuality, to the reason that the St. Nicholas is unrivalled in its literary, artistic and healthy moral tone among the vast multitude of juvenile periodicals.[41]

When Dodge died in 1905, dozens of papers noted her passing in editorials. William Fayal Clarke, her assistant for three decades and her successor as editor for two decades more, wrote in a memorial article, "But it was not by any luck or good fortune that she accomplished that work; it was patient, devoted, conscientious labor."[42] Sarah S. McEmery of The Critic stated that "her very high standards for excellence in every detail have been watched with growing appreciation by those interested in its [St. Nicholas'] progress and its influence." McEmery added, "... each detail of the magazine's presentment was as keenly and conscientiously discussed and decided upon. Nothing...that

could offend the eye or the taste...was ever permitted to appear by this most careful and loving critic." In every way, McEmery thought, Dodge was concerned about the impression the magazine would make upon its readers.[43]

Dodge's success as an editor of St. Nicholas rested partially on her ability to write and criticize others' writing. After she became editor she wrote under her own name and pseudonyms. Almost a third of the first issue was her material. In addition, she continued to publish collections of old and new material in book form. In 1874 she published Rhymes and Jingles, a collection of her poetry. In 1876 she gathered a number of earlier essays, sketches and short stories in Theophilus and Others. Along the Way, a collection of poems, appeared in 1879, and Donald and Dorothy, a juvenile novel, in 1883. She issued Baby World: Stories, Rhymes and Pictures for Little Folks; from St. Nicholas in 1893. A year later, two volumes appeared: Land of Pluck: Stories and Sketches for Young Folks and When Life is Young: A Collection of Verse for Boys and Girls. In addition, there were numerous editions of Hans Brinker and earlier works. While much of the material for these new books was collected from earlier sources, she also continued to write new material for St. Nicholas, especially for the "Jack-in-the-Pulpit" column which appeared monthly for many years. Other material credited to "Joel Stacy" is also hers.[44] H. Rosetta Terry, with whose parents Dodge boarded on Long Island for two summers, recalled that Dodge wrote constantly while on vacation.[45]

This ability to write quickly and well was complemented by

her ability to read tactfully but perceptively, the work submitted to her. Over the years she instructed her contributors how to improve their submissions. Alcott recognized Dodge's skill and charged her, "Don't let me prose [her emphasis]. If I seem to be declining & falling into it[,] pull me up & I'll try to prance as of old."[46] To Samuel Clemens she wrote with flattery but sharpness: "Now dear Mr. Clemens, would it not be easy with your ingenuity and your master touch to round off this story [Tom Sawyer Abroad] , put it on its feet, so to speak, without by any means ending Tom's career?"[47] She recognized immediately the literary quality of Rudyard Kipling's Jungle Book stories and encouraged him profusely throughout the entire series. In response to one she wrote: "How did [her emphasis] you do it? Children everywhere go wild with delight over that story, and the editor is simply chortling over the bewitching thing. Editors so seldom know the joy of thorough satisfaction."[48] To Theodore Roosevelt she sent specific instructions on what she wanted him to write, all the while massaging his ego:

> We desire particularly that this short article should inculcate your idea of the truest form of patriotism for growing boys to cherish, and show them that the word means much more than the celebration of Independence Day.... Our thousands of boy-readers have the right to plain talk upon this subject which should both enlighten and inspire them--and of all men in public life you are the one whom they and we would first turn to.[49]

Of particular note is her negotiating on the price she paid contributors. Generally, St. Nicholas seems to have paid less than its competitors like Youth's Companion and Harper's Young

Folks, or at least some authors so intimated.[50] Amateur or novice contributors were generally glad to get anything. Richard Harding Davis, for example, was ecstatic over his first modest acceptance check.[51] However, seasoned writers like Alcott, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Stockton, and Kipling asked for more and generally got favorable terms. The reason was that Dodge knew that such notable names on the annual prospectus would increase subscription lists and attract advertisers. On the other hand, to keep her costs down, she often would buy just the American serial rights and allow the author to retain the book rights and serial rights overseas. If either Scribner's in the early days or The Century Company after 1881 wanted to publish the book, she could usually offer a more attractive package.[52] One noteworthy exchange that showed how she operated involved a poem her staff thought was by Kipling as he had sent it in. When he corrected her impression, she had to explain bluntly why she had offered so much for it and why she now had to retract her offer.[53]

Even her letters of rejection were kind. In response to a hysterical inquiry from a would-be writer, Dodge penned the word "gently" because she apparently could not accept the woman's work.[54] In rejecting a submission by Edith Holman Hunt, she suggested that it would be "better adopted for an adult periodical" and mentioned topics which would interest St. Nicholas. She also explained to Hunt why deadline pressures had made it impossible to send proofs of a previously published work.[55] To a Mrs. Ferris, who had sent an article on old Dutch life, she wrote that

while it would "benefit" St. Nicholas readers, "the large over supply of material now on hand and awaiting publication forbids the acceptance of more than the few contributions absolutely required...."[56] When the husband of a niece submitted poetry to her, she worked conscientiously, at least on paper, to place it, but refused to be used.[57]

Authors appear to have appreciated her help. John Bennett, the author of Master Skylark and other stories and illustrations that appeared in St. Nicholas, recalled: "With every acceptance, and with every infrequent declination, she invariably sent some message of encouraging criticism, helpful suggestion, or stimulating praise. I have never met the same cordial recognition elsewhere in fortyfive [sic] years."[58]

She could also accept criticism, especially if it came from children. In a letter to the book publisher of Donald and Dorothy she wrote shrewdly: "I have been thinking of inserting a whole new chapter at the close in consequence of the request of (literally) hundreds of boys and girls, and because I thought such an addition if announced, would help the sale of the book very materially." She did not, however, make the revision, and sale of this novel was never high.[59]

Her ability to work under pressure was legendary, even though she often paid a heavy price in subsequent illness. Mary Abigail Dodge, an unrelated writer with whom Mary Mapes Dodge was sometimes confused, wrote her in 1885, "That you survive the rage of writers and the rashness of printers [her emphasis] is the

strongest tribute to that height of your genius."[60] Dodge's pattern for work was characterized by periods of intense activity and lulls to recuperate. The magazine went to press generally two months before the month of publication to allow sufficient time for typesetting, illustration, and proof reading. The crucial issues were those appearing in the late fall and early winter, the Christmas season. This was the time when subscribers either began or renewed and when advertising was heaviest. (St. Nicholas was also sold by copy at book stores, and circulation during Dodge's editorship seems to have ranged from 70,000 to 90,000 per month.)[61] This meant that Dodge and her small staff of two or three (Stockton in the first few years and Clarke for three decades) spent frantic summers lining up contributors for the upcoming year for listing in the fall prospectus. Since much of the magazine consisted of serial fiction or series of feature articles, once the staff had these in hand, and Dodge insisted on complete submissions,[62] their most pressing work the remainder of the year consisted of filling the remaining space with poetry, short stories, illustrations, and departments. Occasionally, as in a letter to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, she confessed some difficulty in finding the right material, but generally, especially as the magazine became widely known, this was less a problem.[63]

Generally Dodge worked at home, visiting the office only one day a week. Office details she delegated to her staff and to the staff she shared first with Scribner's Monthly and then its

successor The Century Magazine. Both publications were printed under the supervision of Theodore L. DeVinne, generally considered one of the better, if not the best, printers of his time.[64] The art work was directed by the esteemed Alexander W. Drake. Dodge was well aware of the need to meet deadlines and frequently warned writers that if they did not follow schedules, their work was useless. She also seems to have pushed her staff hard, some of them actually living with her for long parts of the year.[65]

Dodge paid a heavy price for her diligence. In her latter years the combination of personal tragedies like the death of her son Harry and the loss of other relatives, her obesity, and frequent exhaustion often left her ill for months at a time. However, the loyalty of her staff and her writer-friends kept the magazine going without interruption. By the turn of the century she was at best the titular head, leaving the details to Clarke and Albert Bigelow Paine. In 1900 she thanked Paine and the other staff for their efforts:

> In looking carefully over the June and July nos. of St. N. my heart swells with gratitude towards young and old, and especially towards Mr. [Tudor] Jenks & yourself and all who have helped to make two such capital issues.[66]

In fact, because so much of her correspondence was dictated in her later years, a researcher at times wonders whether the signature "Mary Mapes Dodge" was hers or one of her assistants. They had worked with her so long that one suspects they could anticipate her reactions to anything.

Besides her skill as a writer and editor, Dodge spent much

time developing social and professional acquaintances with writers. To her, her most important work was long-range. In a letter to Gilder, then editor of The Century, she wrote in 1880, "the best editorial work is not so much connected with the matter at hand important as that is, but in the foresight and insight that gives new life to the very heart of one's own magazine."[67] Obviously, many people sought her out with letters of inquiry, unsolicited manuscripts, and ideas once St. Nicholas became established. However, Dodge did not wait for material to arrive in the mail; she sought it aggressively through a rich social life and vast correspondence. When well, she visited others regularly and entertained at home as her social correspondence frequently indicates. Dan C. Beard, an illustrator, recalled that "at studio gatherings people held their breath when she entered regally, dressed like a queen and acting every inch of one."[68] Gelett Burgess, creator of "The Goops," recalled her as a "charming and affable hostess" who had "the gift of hospitality, sympathy and friendship."[69]

Other times she did favors like offering to lend money to authors short on cash or printing the juvenilia of the children and relatives of famous authors like William Dean Howells and Roosevelt.[70] On other occasions she arranged for lodging for writers visiting New York or helped place the work of writers in appropriate publications.[71] In later years she entertained authors like Clemens at her summer home in the Catskills near Tannersville, New York. She was particularly hospitable to

Clemens' daughter Susy, and when Susy died, the tie of sympathy between the two was particularly close.[72]

In addition, she was constantly sending volumes or individual issues of the magazine to authors whom she thought could write appropriately for St. Nicholas. Robert Louis Stevenson thanked her in 1887 for two volumes of the magazine and commented on Little Lord Fauntleroy, that it would have even been better had the hero been less "this piece of perfection." He rose to her bait by stating that he had a story in mind as well as a series.[73]

The Stevenson letter also raised the question of whether what he had in mind would "please the readers of St. Nicholas."[74] What Stevenson suspected was that Dodge knew what she wanted for her audience and there might be a difference in each's sense of appropriateness. Beard, for example, said she "bent over backwards to be even more Victorian than the period."[75] Dodge was most aware of the need not to offend parental sensibilities. In 1874 she wrote to Aldrich that a submission "would be very welcome, if [her emphasis] it accorded with the general purpose of the magazine." Aldrich replied "I am afraid that I do not understand that." Others did. Burgess recalled that he was once reproved for drawing "goops" with their tongues sticking out.[77] British writer B.L. Farejon had to revise an article because Dodge objected to the characters of Voltaire, a Coquette, and the "Fancy Baby."[78] Samuel A. Chapin, a former staff member, recalled an incident in which Dodge objected to an illustration

in which a "young girl's dress was being blown quite banner-like by the wind with a resultant display of too much ankle and lower limb." After three revisions the illustrator turned in a version with the girl's figure "depicted as an Egyptian mummy closely swathed in wrappings."[79] Dodge enjoyed the joke. Cyril Clemens recalled that Dodge had objected to pictures for Tom Sawyer Abroad that showed Huck, Tom, and Jim in bare feet. As a result, the artist, Beard portrayed them with shoes.[80] Correspondence with Stockton showed her reluctance to carry stories with the word "pirate" in their titles: "...to say 'Pirate' in one's title provokes the wrath of Parents and guardians at the very outset of a serial's career. We have done it but it is hardly safe to do it again."[81] On another occasion Dodge reportedly was upset because the illustrations for Land of Fire by British adventure writer Mayne Reid conjured up a vision of Hell and since Reid had recently died some might consider the pictures inopportune.[82] In another instance Chapin recalled an episode in which Dodge received considerable criticism from Southern parents when a story about a domestic science class in New York City was illustrated with pictures in which a white girl was serving a black girl.[83]

Many writers agreed with or anticipated her possible criticisms of particular scenes. Trowbridge, a frequent contributor of serials, said in 1874,

> I entirely approve of your course in rejecting the tipsy scene as a subject for a picture; though I had thought that in Mr. White's hands it might be made simply funny, & not at all revolting: everything depends upon how such things are managed.[84]

Thomas Nelson Page, in 1887, after acceptance of Two Little

Confederates asked

> Do you consider the scene in which Lucy Ann is terrorized contra bonos mores? I might readily amend it by making the boy discharge both barrels of his gun and use an empty gun. This will not only leave the incident but will bring out Lucy Ann's heroism subsequently, unless you object to the latter scene.[85]

What seems to have made Dodge's objections palatable to authors was her own appreciation of what she asked them to remove. Her diplomatic response to Farejon is typical.

> And of course you will understand that our suggestions for amending it are merely by way of adapting it to the special requirements and limitations of a young folk's magazine. Pray believe that they are submitted with heartiest appreciation of the story as submitted with heartiest appreciation of the story as originally penned, and that our zealous resolve not to depart from our standard for young folk has been sadly hampered in our review of the story by our unwillingness to lose many of the tempting passages in the scenes marked for omission.[86]

The passage also reinforces how Dodge throughout her editing career used her audience as her standard. In practice, she adhered to the policies she had outlined in her Scribner's article on children's magazines and her correspondence with Scudder. She wanted to entertain them with wholesome but interesting material and she had no illusions about their liking what adults thought appropriate for them. An incident told by Katherine Seabury had Dodge introducing herself to a girl who was reading Donald and Dorothy in St. Nicholas as they travelled by train. Dodge gave the girl her card, but the child was unimpressed.

> Mrs. Dodge returned the card to her purse, and then with a laugh, remarked to Mr. Clarke that the

> incident should teach them both a valuable lesson in their work as publishers; that children care nothing at all for authors' names, and they care nothing for reputation and fame. They are the most severe critics publishers can have as they insist that the material must satisfy their own standards and ideals, and their approval and interest cannot be caught by world-wide fame, by public opinion or by the standards of adults.[87]

On another occasion she wrote to a contributor bluntly, "Your verses are filed for publication in St. Nicholas--but (excuse me if there are 'ladies present') our St. Nicholas children are rather stupid, and they may not remember the incident so prettily suggested to adults [her emphasis]...."[88] Even her old mentor Scudder received a lesson in her no-nonsense approach to children's interests. Scudder had proposed a piece on George Washington, and while Dodge thought the article would be "most appropriate & suggestive," she also thought it "might be giving the little folk rather too much of history." She added, "The poor little things study hard at school and rightly expect to be entertained by their magazine--and we all the while are smuggling in so much valuable information!"[89] She was confident enough to give Clemens a lesson on the writing of serials:

> With a serial readers are more clamorous for some sort of definite ending than in the case of the book; and young folks, you know, are particularly exasperating in this respect. Of course no one could ask you to finish Tom Sawyer--that--would be murder! But it would not be practicable to "satisfactorize" the present conclusion, say by a few paragraphs that would at least lure the fascinated reader into the belief that he had it all. [sic] [90]

Clemens disagreed on literary grounds but said that his daughter concurred and he would try to revamp the ending.[91]

Dodge also wanted to protect children from the condescension and truly frightening material. She told Stedman in 1893, "I am no butcher, either, but only a conscientious surgeon for the children's sake."[92] Howard Kyle recalled that she had made Oliver Herford, a poet and illustrator, remove a stanza that mentioned death from a poem "as she was opposed to publishing any reference to Death in a magazine for young people."[93] Herford reinserted the stanza in the page proofs, a step which escaped Dodge whose reaction is not recorded. Another time she told Howells that the title "Grotesques told to children" would be "less acceptable to the children themselves than some others that may occur to you." She continued, "our young readers (whose ages range from 10 to 15 years) do not like a title that 'sounded too young' as they express it."[94] On another occasion she told Alcott that she liked the "Spinning Wheel" series, "excepting the ghost stories which I fear will 'skeer' the children. Of course, if it is a make believe ghost or something of that sort, it is different."[95]

Dodge also wanted to protect children from writers whose writing about childhood appealed to adults but not to children themselves. She found George McDonald's work enjoyable herself but told Gilder that she did not have the "courage" to obtain more from him. "His paper in our series of 'Talks with Boys' though stamped as his own and full of beauty, did not hit the mark at all. I have never found a young reader who cared for it in the least, or even understood it."[96] Reid ,however, was a

different case and Dodge worked hard to get a story from him, telling Scudder: "And do you not understand the honest editor who tells you that she hopes through Captain Reid's story to attract and interest the large class of boys who other wise may never look into St. N at all & who may be the gainers by this new departure." [sic] [97]

This focus on her audience was particularly evident in the regular departments she and her staff developed over the years. Readers' letters were printed regularly and Dodge's discussions of the questions children raised in her "Jack-in-the-Pulpit" column were generally candid and direct. Throughout her life she tried out material on whatever children were available. What delighted them, she would publish.

Nevertheless, despite her disclaimers, she saw a moral element in her work. In 1889 this was evident in her reaction to Little Lord Fauntleroy.

> "The play is doing a great missionary work, and I am delighted to see the hosts of little folk attending the Sat. matinees. No intelligent child can see the play without being materially helped and elevated by it.--It is one of the best & most wholesome influences of the day."[98]

Even though Dodge had primarily secular and financial concerns in undertaking her editorship of St. Nicholas, underlying there appears to have been an almost missionary zeal. Like many who have undergone difficulty, she gave herself to helping the younger generation avoid the pitfalls she had observed or experienced.

This, then is a portrait of the woman who "conducted" St. Nicholas for 32 years. From this analysis it is evident that her successful career rested on two pillars, one involving her carving out a place as a noteworthy writer and editor, the other involving her conformity to the values of the middle class American population that purchased the magazine. As a careerist, Dodge was one of many women who turned to writing and editing as a way of supporting herself and her family in adversity. As an editor, Dodge produced a magazine that reflected and reinforced the values of genteel Victorian society. Like the parent magazines Scribner's and The Century, St. Nicholas bore the messages of what the "best" people of the time valued. However, in doing so she established the assumption that the audience of young people was the final arbiter of the success of material written for them.

Notes

[1]Nina Baym, Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 35. Baym does not mention Dodge, but discusses many writers with whom Dodge was personally familiar.

[2]Catharine Morris Wright, Lady of the Silver Skates: The Life and Correspondence of Mary Mapes Dodge, 1830-1905, (Jamestown,, Rhode Island: Clingstone Press, 1979) The Wright biography contains much valuable information for the chronology and personal side of Dodge's life; however, it does not reflect a thorough search for manuscript materials, relying primarily on the Dodge collections at Princeton. One glaring omission is Dodge's extensive correspondence with Horace Scudder housed at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Citations to other manuscript materials are done incompletely. In addition, Wright fails to place Dodge in any historical context, especially the emergence of women in the literary field, the growth of literature for children and adolescents, and the growth of magazines as a vehicle for middle-class consumer propoyanda.

[3]Robert Dale Owen to Mary Mapes Dodge, New York August 10, 1867, (Wilkinson Collection of Mary Mapes Dodge, Princeton) Hereafter referred to as WC-P.

[4]Originally published in 1865 by James O'Kane of New York, Hans Brinker has gone through hundreds of editions in various languages and is still available today. In a time when many families are headed by single women, one can understand this on-going popularity, especially as the husband eventually is cured of his illness and resumes normal living.

[5]M.E.D. [Mary Elizabeth Dodge], "Mary Bennet," The United States Journal April, 1862, 86-88. A bound volume of this magazine, November, 1861, to November, 1862, marked to indicate material by Dodge is available in the Dodge materials at Princeton.

[6]Wright, p.25; photostat of agreement dated November 1, 1865, between Mary E. Dodge and John H. Tingley, (DRDC-P).

[7]M.E. Dodge, The Irvington Stories (New York:James O'Kane, 1864); See Wright, 25-26.

[8]James Jay Mapes to Mary Mapes Dodge, New York, May 14, 1864, (Donald and Robert M. Dodge Collection of Mary Mapes Dodge, Princeton) Hereafter referred to as DRDC-P.

[9]Charles Scribner to Mary Mapes Dodge, New York, February, 15, 1883, (WC-P). Scribner became the publisher in 1873.

[10]Mary Mapes Dodge, "Shoddy," in Theophilus and Others (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., 1876), 136.

[11]Wright, 36.

[12]William Southworth Hunt to Spencer Mapes, Newark, New Jersey, December 30, 1935 and January 8, 1936 (DRDC-P).

[13]Baym, 30-33 and 178, discusses the tendency of women writers to select income over art. "Interview with W.F. Clarke," May 24 [1936?] (DRDC-P), 2. Clarke names Whitelaw Reid and John Hay as two who were interested in marrying Mrs. Dodge.

[14]Baym, 30-33 and 178.

[15]Mary Mapes Dodge to James Mapes Dodge, "Home" [Newark, New Jersey], n.d., (DRDC-P).

[16]Mary Mapes Dodge to Arlo Bates, Mapleridge [Newark, New Jersey], September 27, 1869, (DRDC-P).

[17]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Newark, July 23, 1866, (Huntington Library). Hereafter referred to as HL.

[18]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Newark, September 24, 1866, (HL).

[19]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Newark, December 13, 1866, (HL).

[20]Horace E. Scudder, "Books for Young People," Riverside Magazine for Young People, I (January, 1867), 43-45. The quotation is taken from a copy of the article that appears in Virginia Haviland, ed., Children and Literature: Views and Reviews (New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1973), 23.

[21]M.E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Newark, January 23, 1867, (HL).

[22]ibid

[23]M.E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Waverly [Newark, New Jersey] May 9, 1867, (HL).

[24]ibid

[25]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, "In the white-walled room" [Newark, New Jersey], June 29, 1867, (HL).

[26]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Waverly [Newark, New Jersey], August 12,1867, (HL).

[27]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Palensville [New York], 23 August 1867, (HL), and Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, "In the white-walled room" [Newark, New Jersey], (HL).

[28]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Newark, New Jersey 7 November 1867, (HL).

[29]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Mapleridge [Newark, New Jersey], January 13, 1868, (HL).

[30]ibid

[31]Mary E. Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Mapleridge [Newark, New Jersey], January 31, 1868, (HL).

[32]These conclusions are based on the following letters: Mary Elizabeth Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, Mapleridge Newark, New Jersey, February 24, 1868; March 31, 1868; April 23, 1868; November 12, 1868; "Day after Thanksgiving"[1868]; December 7, 1868; September 10, [1869]; and Tannersville, New York, n.d. [September 9, 1891]; All in (HL).

[33]Mary Mapes Dodge to Lucy Larcom, New York, December 5, 1874, (DRDC-P); Mary Mapes Dodge to Anne Charlotte Lynch Botta, New York, May 31, 1884, (WC-P).

[34]n.a. [Mary Mapes Dodge], "Children's Magazines," Scribner's Monthly, VI (July, 1873) 352-354.

[35]"To Authors," New York, 1873, contained in a letter from Mary Elizabeth Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, New York, May 15, 1873, (HL). Although this prospectus mentions "true Christian spirit," the phrase "entirely unsectarian" indicates Dodge's attitude toward religion. She attended church irregularly, found revival meetings humorous, and was described by Clarke as a "Unitarian." Her family had no strong ties to any denomination.

[36]Edmund Clarence Stedman to Mary Mapes Dodge, New York, October 26, 1873, (WC-P).

[37]Rebecca Harding Davis to Mary Mapes Dodge, Philadelphia, October 28, [1873], (DRDC-P).

[38]Mary L. Booth to Mary Mapes Dodge, New York, October 30, 1874, (DRDC-P).

[39]Mary Mapes Dodge to Arthur Gilman, New York, October 29, 1873, (Harvard University Library) Hereafter referred to as HUL.

[40]Wright, 98-99.

[41]"Mary Mapes Dodge," New York Observer, January 12, 1893, clipping, (DRDC-P).

[42]The Donald and Robert M. Dodge Collection of Mary Mapes Dodge at Princeton contains transcripts of editorials commenting on her death. Over fifty periodicals are listed. William Fayal Clarke, "In Memory of Mary Mapes Dodge," St. Nicholas, XXXII, 12 (October, 1905), 1059.

[43]Sarah S. McEmery, "Mary Mapes Dodge: An Intimate Tribute," The Critic, XLVII, (October, 1905), 311.

[44]Wright, 86, and 190-191 comments on the "Stacy" connection. Further support comes from the fact that a manuscript envelope for, "A Dutch Family" (DRDC-P) indicates that the name "Joel Stacy" is to be used but the slug for the poem says "M.M. Dodge." For additional confirmation and an impression of the Century and St. Nicholas, see William Webster Ellsworth, The Golden Age of Authors (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919) especially 88-97.

[45]Rosetta Terry to Spencer Mapes, Miami Florida, December 31 [1936], (DRDC-P). Terry's impressions of Mary Mapes Dodge in recollection were not as flattering as those of others. Terry thought she was somewhat cruel to her sons James and Harry.

[46]Louisa May Alcott to Mary Mapes Dodge, n.p., September 17, n.y., (DRDC-P).

[47]Mary Mapes Dodge to Samuel Langhorne Clemens, New York, November 10, 1892, (DRDC-P). This is a draft of the letter which she sent.

[48]Mary Mapes Dodge to Rudyard Kipling, New York, August 22, 1892, (DRDC-P).

[49]Mary Mapes Dodge to Theodore Roosevelt, New York, August 22, 1899, (Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress). Hereafter referred to as TRP-LC.

[50]Aldolphus Washington Greeley to Mary Mapes Dodge, Washington, D.C., July 16, 1888, (WC-P); Louisa May Alcott to Mary Mapes Dodge, Concord, Massachusetts, May 8, n.y., (WC-P); Frank R. Stockton to Mary Mapes Dodge, Charlottesville, Virginia, July 30, 1885, (WC-P); Kate Douglas Wiggin to Mary Mapes Dodge, Hollis, Maine, August 3, 1893, (WC-P).

[51]"Fifty Years of St. Nicholas," p.23.

[52]Much of her correspondence deals with financial and legal arrangements. Letters of particular interest in showing her various ploys in negotiating follow: Mary Mapes Dodge to Horace

Scudder, Bay Shore, New York, July 24, 1885, (HUL); Sarah Orne Jewett to Mary Mapes Dodge, Madison, New Jersey, July 1, 1888, (DRDC-P); Mary Mapes Dodge to Mrs. Leonowens, New York, July 2, 1877, (DRDC-P);Louisa May Alcott to Mary Mapes Dodge, Boston, December 2, n.y., (DRDC-P); and all correspondence between Dodge and Francis Hodgson Burnett concerning Little Lord Fauntleroy in the Wilkinson and Donald and Robert M. Dodge Collections at Princeton.

[53]Mary Mapes Dodge to Rudyard Kipling, New York, October 14, 1892, (DRDC-P).

[54]Julia Neely Finch to Mary Mapes Dodge, Birmingham, Alabama, March 21, n.y., (DRDC-P).

[55]Mary Mapes Dodge to Edith Holman Hunt, New York, n.d. [1888?], (DRDC-P).

[56]Mary Mapes Dodge to Mrs. Ferris, New York, March 15, 1890, (Barret Dodge Collection, University of Virginia) Hereafter referred to as BDC-V.

[57]See correspondence Mary Mapes Dodge to Charles Keeler, New York, November 11, 1894, December 15, 1896, n.d., December 21, n.y., and June 4, 1896, (Keeler Papers, HL).

[58]John Bennett to Spencer Mapes, Charleston, South Carolina, February 20, 1937, (DRDC-P).

[59]Mary Mapes Dodge to Mr. Niles, Ocean Grove, New Jersey, August 1, n.y., (BDC-V).

[60]Mary Abigail Dodge to Mary Mapes Dodge, [Washington, D.C.?], January 27, 1885, (DRDC-P).

[61]Circulation figures are hard to determine; The Ayers Directory did not list magazines until after 1900. However, W.C. Clarke in an interview granted May 24, [1936?], to Spencer Mapes stated that (p. 4 of transcript) typical circulation was 70,000, although a popular story like Little Lord Fauntleroy or the Kipling Jungle Book series pushed it to 90,000. Clarke said that the greatest circulation ever was 125,000, but he does not indicate when this occurred. Clarke's interviews and correspondence with Spencer Mapes in (DRDC-P) is the best source of material about operations. Also useful is Samuel A. Chapin to Spencer Mapes, n.p., September 11, 1937, (DRDC-P). This reconstruction of her working habits is based even more on my analysis of her extent correspondence in various locations. See Ellsworth, passim, for a picture of life and personalities at the Century Company.

[62]For letters illustrating the hectic summers, see the following: Mary Mapes Dodge to Edmund Clarence Stedman, Patchogue, New York, July 24, 1876, (Columbia University, Special Collections); Hereafter referred to as SC-CU; Mary Mapes Dodge to Edith Holman Hunt, New York, August 22, 1888, (DRDC-P); Mary Mapes Dodge to Edmund Clarence Stedman, Tannersville, New York, October 6, 1892, (DRDC-P). For her policy on serials, see Mary Mapes Dodge to Frances Hodgson Burnett, New York, April 2, 1885, (WC-P).

[63]Mary Mapes Dodge to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, New York, April 30, 1877, (HUL).

[64]Henry L. Bullen to Spencer Mapes, Jersey City, New Jersey, January 21, 1936, (DRDC-P). Bullen was librarian of the Typographic Library and Museum. He called DeVinne "the greatest printer...that this country has produced."

[65]See Wright, passim. Of interest is a note Dodge attached to a letter from Richard A. Proctor, Clapman Park, S.W., June 16, 1876, (DRDC-P), in which she indicated that she wants him to hurry up with twelve papers in six weeks. They were "no use otherwise."

[66]Mary Mapes Dodge to Albert B. Paine, Tannersville, New York, June 20, 1900, (HL). Clarke confirms this in his later interviews with Spencer Mapes. In a letter to Lucy[?], New York, January 28, 1886, (Anthony Collection, New York Public Library), she complains of her "special tyrants: nerves, backbone and bronchial tubes." In a letter to Richard Watson Gilder, Tannersville, New York, August 13, 1896, (Century Collection, New York Public Library), she refuses a request to do a sketch because of lack of strength and rheumatism. She has decided to concentrate on editorial matters only.

[67]Mary Mapes Dodge to Richard Watson Gilder, New York, April[?], 1880, (Gilder Papers, New York Public Library).

[68]Interview fo Dan C. Beard conducted by Spencer Mapes, n.p., December 14, 1935. (DRDC-P).

[69]Gelett Burgess to Spencer Mapes, New York, March 29, 1937, (DRDC-P).

[70]Mary Mapes Dodge to Edmund Clarence Stedman, New York, May 13, 1875, (SC-CU); Mary Mapes Dodge to W.D. Howells, New York, March 13, 1877, (HUL); Mary Mapes Dodge to Theodore Roosevelt, New York, August 22, 1899, (TRP-LC).

[71]Louisa May Alcott to Mary Mapes Dodge, Walpole, New Hampshire, September 10, n.y., (DRDC-P); Harriet Elizabeth Spofford to Mary Mapes Dodge, Newburyport, Massachusetts, May 6, 1892, (WC-P); Mary Cowden-Clarke to Mary Mapes Dodge, Genoa, Italy, March 31, 1885, (DRDC-P).

[72]Samuel Langhorne Clemens to Mary Mapes Dodge, London, October 5, 1896, (DRDC-P). Clemens recounted his visit to Onteora in Mark Twain, "Chapters from my Autobiography," North American Review, XXII, [1906?], pp. 8-10 (clipping in Clemens correspondence, DRDC-P); Dunham Wheeler recalled in a letter to Spencer Mapes, Port Washington, New York, April 11, 1936, (DRDC-P), his memories of Twain's visit to Onteora.

[73]Robert Louis Stevenson to Mary Mapes Dodge, Bournemouth, April 5, 1887, (WC-P).

[74]ibid

[75]Interview of Dan C. Beard conducted by Spencer Mapes, n.p., December 14, 1935, (DRDC-P).

[76]Thomas Bailey Aldrich to Mary Mapes Dodge, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 26, 1874, (DRDC-P).

[77]Gelett Burgess to Spencer Mapes, New York, March 29, 1937, (DRDC-P).

[78]For copies of this correspondence see Eleanor Farejon, "A Comedy in Wax or Lucy and their Majesties, " The Horn Book, 41, (August, 1965), 358-363.

[79]Samuel A. Chapin to Spencer Mapes, n.p., September 11, 1937, (DRDC-P), p. 4.

[80]Cyril Clemens to Spencer Mapes, Webster Groves, Missouri, January 6, 1935, (DRDC-P).

[81]Mary Mapes Dodge to Frank R. Stockton, New York, May 28, 1897, (DRDC-P). Other letters in this sequence of interest are Frank R. Stockton to Mary Mapes Dodge, Convent Station, New Jersey, April 23, 1897, (DRDC-P); Mary Mapes Dodge to Frank R. Stockton, New York, April 29, 1897, (DRDC-P); and Frank R. Stockton, to Mary Mapes Dodge, Convent Station, New Jersey, July 16, 1897, (WC-P).

[82]Edmund Alton to Spencer Mapes, New York, January 13, 1936, (DRDC-P).

[83]Samuel A. Chapin to Spencer Mapes, n.p., September 11, 1937, (DRDC-P), 4.

[84]John Townsend Trowbridge to Mary Mapes Dodge, Arlington, Massachusetts, March, 31, 1874, (DRDC-P).

[85]Thomas Nelson Page to Mary Mapes Dodge, Richmond, Virginia, October 13, 1887, (WC-P).

[86]Dodge as quoted in Farejon, 360.

[87]Katherine Seabury to Spencer Mapes, New York, February 8, 2936, (DRDC-P).

[88]Mary Mapes Dodge to Mr. Megg[?], New York, February 21, 1876, (HL).

[89]Mary Mapes Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, New York, March 9, 1885, (HL).

[90]Mary Mapes Dodge to Samuel Langhorne Clemens, New York, November 19, 1892, (DRDC-P).

[91]Samuel Langhorne Clemens to Mary Mapes Dodge, Florence, Italy, December 2, 1892. (DRDC-P).

[92]Mary Mapes Dodge to Edmund Clarence Stedman, New York, April 3, 1893, (SC-CU).

[93]Howard Kyle to Spencer Mapes, New York, March 28, 1936, (DRDC-P).

[94]Mary Mapes Dodge to "Mr. H" [William Dean Howells], New York, April 6, n.y. [1882], (DRDC-P).

[95]Mary Mapes Dodge to Louisa May Alcott, New York, October 12, 1883, (WC-P).

[96]Mary Mapes Dodge to Richard Watson Gilder, New York, April[?], 1880, (Gilder Papers, New York Public Library).

[97]Mary Mapes Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, New York, June 28, 1883, (HL).

[98]Mary Mapes Dodge to Francis Hodgson Burnett, New York, January 5, 1889, (WC-P).